/108 cont./

115 156 554 [598] Victoriano likes to parade his outward standing of higher culture openly. He possesses soap, a toothbrush, a small brush for grooming his eyebrows, and perfume. He uses all these toilet articles very frequently. He is not afraid of the jealousy of his Calderun fellow-villagers; he always carries his machete /see the glossary, p. 249/ with him in order to defend himself. He wants to marry a "white" woman outside of Calderas (cf. also "The Course of a Day" /see p. 133 /).

124 286 386 /109/ In the work an attempt was made as a matter of principle to observe all the activities of the Paez ourselves; when this was not feasible, two different informants were questioned if possible. Two examples will show, however, that errors can creep in, even with the most careful work: I had the dyeing process for the black-dyed fabrics explained to me by the interpreter Marcos, according to whom they are first boiled with certain leaves, and then all of this is placed in black humus earth for two days. When the same question was put to Victoriano, he stated that the black coloring occurs if the fabric is placed in black humus earth for two days. At my suggestion that the fabric first had to be boiled with leaves, he delightedly agreed with me. When called to account as to why he had not told me that, he replied: "Well, you did not ask me about that; you only wanted to know how the material becomes black!"

124 423 One cannot speak sufficiently often and again and again in different ways about the same subject, for to the Paez the necessity or the meaning of explanations for things self-evident to them is usually incomprehensible. Thus in the case described there was as little ill-intent or even mere carelessness as in the following case: In roaming over boundary lines, I inquired as to which fields were private property and which were community property. We came to the general conclusion that the lowlands were community property and the mountain slopes the private property of the man or family who had first cleared the land. I asked Victoriano several times as to whether there were any pieces of land that at present had no owner. He stated emphatically that all the land had been disposed of and there was no longer any ownerless land.

/205 cont./

578 [123] I acted as though I did not understand the words, but observed the same thing as on other occasions of disputes among Indios, namely, that two who are quarreling are not separated by a third stepping in. Rather, a dispute is regarded as an affair of the participants and as an interesting diversion in the monotonous daily existence, and the outcome is observed with obvious interest. Apart from the native word "alko," the Paez, interestingly enough, have no abusive word in their own language. The only term of abuse, but used very frequently, is the Spanish "carajo!"

f) Division of Labor between Men and Women

462 As we have seen from what was said above, the individual left to his own resources cannot exist in the Paez communities. The men's work is supplemented by the women's work, and vice versa. Both men and women are dependent upon each other to make a living /206/ and rely on each other for their most primitive vital needs. A man needs a woman who weaves clothes for him, and a woman cannot clear a field -- to cite but one example. The traditional tasks in relation to the sexes may be [177] summarized once again here. Transitions toward newer ways of life are noticeable, as these have been taken over from the surrounding colonists.

462 857

| | Men | Women | Children |
|---|---|---|---|
| Clearing a piece of land | x | | |
| Sowing maize, potatoes, yuca, sugar cane, coca, wheat | x | | |
| Sowing cabbage and beans | x | x | |
| Sowing gourds and cucumbers | x | x | |
| Weeding | x | | |
| Harvesting maize, potatoes, coca, wheat | x | x | |

/214 cont./

426 however, so that in the case of a deceased poor debtor, the creditor has usually lost his money. Prescription does not occur.
685 A debt forgotten by the debtor may be collected by the creditor
695 years later, if there are witnesses. The situation is similar for
426 the theft of field crops: If there is no witness, no one can be found guilty. If, however, the witness is known as honorable and not deceitful, the accused is judged guilty, even without a con-
692 fession. There is no statement of confirmation corresponding to
695 the oath; similarly, no one condemned for wrongdoing has the
623 right to go to Inzá to the judge. For all misdeeds punished by the
208 [782] cabildo, the capitan and gobernador are the first and last authority; they do not act arbitrarily, however, but rely largely on custom
[686] and the opinion of the village. This is especially true if someone refuses several times in succession to take part in public works, but it also comes out -- unfavorably -- if a poor man tries to
623 become wealthy on his own. For example, disputes not infrequently
692 break out among the Paez on account of damage to cultivated
685 fields when the domestic animals of one person have broken into
578 the fields of a neighbor. Now the fences around each field must always be in good condition and put up in accordance with the term of use of the field. A fence for a maize field, which requires barely a year to mature, may be more lightly built than a fence around a sugar-cane field, which requires three years to mature. Then when strange animals break into fields with good fencing, the owner may kill them or at least wound them, for example, by
[231] cutting off a cow's tail. The owners of pigs fasten a triangular-shaped frame around the necks of their pigs to prevent them from breaking into fenced fields. If the fence is in poor condition, however, and has not been newly erected especially for the planted field, the owner of the animals breaking into the field is not to blame and the owner of the field may not kill them. Of course, the soundness of a fence is to a great extent a matter of opinion,
696 and it happens not infrequently that the disputants go after each
685 other with machetes and wound each other considerably. The
417 /215/ guilty party is then, after an inspection of the fence, punished
681

/284 cont./

241 The following ceremony before the first harvest of a newly
756 cleared field should also be understood in the same sense as
783 all the shamanistic séances of the Paez, namely, as a purification
[273] from pest or to ward it off. The owner, taking along coca, chicha,
[276] and brandy, goes to the field with the members of his family and
[824] the teyu. The latter first sprinkles the field with water to which
herbs have been added and then distributes small packets of
[782] medicinal herbs to all present. He now takes a sample from each
type of produce and makes a bundle out of this, in order to offer
it to Thunder. After this gift, the owner harvests a fiber bag full
of each type of produce and carries it home. He sets down all
the bags beside one another in front of the left side of the entrance,
and then the shaman spits his herbs over them, in order to cleanse
them of the pest, which, without this ceremony, would otherwise
[782] have been carried into the house. After the products have been
cooked, they are given to the shaman, who distributes one product
to each of those present and offers the rest as a gift to Thunder, who,
in turn, gives everything back to the shaman.

754 A good shaman does not know any herbs or other means to
756 harm people or to kill them. Such acts are the mark of the nyic.
According to what we heard, however, the boundary between good
and bad shamans is not very sharply drawn; each could also carry
out the activity of the other, even though Thunder -- people are
convinced -- does not lend his help to a nyic, so that the latter is
578 dependent solely on his bad and wicked agents. /285/ There is a
754 constant struggle between the teyu and the nyic, not openly to be
756 sure, but in secret. The teyu constantly feel pursued by the evil
machinations of the nyic, and one who relaxes his attention for
only a moment will be killed by them. In this struggle the one
who is the stronger magically has prospects of victory; but since
the nyic do not openly announce their successes over the good
shamans, one can learn only of the victories of the teyu over the
evil shamans. Thus a shaman from Santa Rosa relates that in his
youth he was very treacherous and underhanded and was already
familiar with many agents. One day a nyic, who had already

/285 cont./

578 754 756 killed his mother and his brothers, declared his hostility toward him because he was well on the way to becoming a good shaman. He became ill and his signs announced to him that he would soon

578 75 774 die. Now there was a famous shaman in Huila, and he sought him out with much brandy and coca. Immediately this shaman realized that it was a case of bewitchment by a nyic. The only possibility of getting off alive was to kill the soul of the evil sorcerer immediately. Together they dug a hole for this purpose and in it they waited many nights for the soul of the nyic. It came, but since it was very suspicious, it would not let itself be caught. More than a month passed in this way. Night after night the two were lying in wait, without sleeping, and then one night, near daybreak, the soul of the evil sorcerer came. The shaman was ready, however; he raised his staff and with a powerful blow it fell into the hole. Immediately earth was piled up over it and the hole completely covered. Hissing, the soul died.

756 789 824 Since the young shaman from Santa Rosa was well once more, the old shaman sent him home. He advised him, however, to carry herbs with him, since there were robbers on the way. Cautiously he proceeded to the dangerous spot, and already his signs announced to him that the robbers were in the vicinity. He immediately blew his herbs, and the robbers fell into a deep sleep. Farther along on the way home he met several people who were pursuing a criminal. They gave him brandy and coca and asked him to help them, from his home, to capture the criminal. He then strewed čayuts on his own feet, and the criminal could no longer walk, so the people were able to capture him.

75 774 Other shamans report that in case of a bewitchment by a nyic, the bewitched person and the members of his family slaughter a pig and put a piece of each organ in a fiber bag. /286/ They bring these to the shaman, together with brandy, coca and cigars. The meat serves as bait for the soul of the sorcerer, for at the first cockcrow, when all present are chewing coca, it comes to get the bag. It falls into the hole dug under it, however. The shaman immediately throws herbs into it, those present their chewed packets of coca, and then the pit is covered up as quickly as

/289 cont./

534 by cuts with a machete (Ill. 203 /see p. 290/). In spite of the
322 relatively correspondent holes, each flute has a slightly different tone caused by the varying diameter of the tube.

533 According to the investigation kindly undertaken by my
534 brother Wilfried on the sample flute of Vicente Puche that I acquired, it is tuned between C and C-sharp. Its six finger-holes produce a nonsemitonic seven-tone scale. All the tone steps, however, are somewhat inexact, that is, not exactly a whole tone-step apart. This is particularly noticeable from the third to the fourth tone where we perceptibly have less than a major second, but considerably more than a half step. This is noteworthy because in our diatonic major scale there is also a definite half-step between these two tones.

The blowing is on the right or left side. The extended fingers, work-worn by the heavy field work, cover the finger holes with the first or second joint.

534 The value of the flute is not very high. On festive days
[578] people are in the habit of becoming intoxicated in the festival
[796] houses and in the subsequent brawls the flutes are used as striking
[273] instruments and thus broken.

/290/ Every music group has at least one small cylindrical drum (káka) or a bass drum (kut), both of which are covered with skin on two sides and are wider than high in their dimensions.
[177] Drum and bass drum in this form are probably borrowed and were
[194] taken over throughout South America from former Negro slaves. Their manufacture among the Paez is specialist's work. At
[463] present Vicente Puche makes the flutes as well as the drums. In former times, however, there was a special expert who made only
[461] drums and bass drums. The work time for their manufacture amounts to 10 to 14 days, since one day is allowed for each operation (cutting wood, drying it, for the various processes in treating
[824] the skins, etc.). The cylindrical body of the drum is made from
[237] the wood of the utsé tree. The two drum-skins (katc) are made of calfskin. They are stretched with cords made of agave fiber, which run in a zigzag from one stretcher to the other over the body of the drum. They are tightened by a continuous loop that encircles two strands of the stretching cords at a time and at the same time

[p. 22 skipped in paginating - Analyst]

/194 cont./

796 The albacero and fiestero with their respective wives do not work; their task is to look after the people.

796 554 Every religious fiesta has a chief fiestero and a secondary one, with their respective retinues of albaceros, mayordomos, and laborers. There is no difference of rank between the two. Both spend the same amount of money and perform the same tasks. Only the chief one performs them first; he thus has [578] primacy. Nevertheless, a certain rivalry seems to exist between the two. According to the extravagance and hospitality, there are comments as to whether the fiesta of one was better than that of the other. Prestige is also involved here. Thus, of the two fiesteros who gave the fiesta of San Juan this current year, that of the second one was said to be better, since he did not get drunk, attended all the religious ceremonies, and [273] looked after people very well. Only the last of these remarks is valid, because the abundance of food, chicha, and aguardiente was fundamental; continuous drunkenness is the mark of a good fiesta. On the other hand, he knew how to look after the people because he had already been fiestero at another time.

796 Three weeks before the festive day activity begins in the households of the fiesteros: milling the sugar cane, the distillation of the aguardiente, entertainment of visitors, and the making of candles and firecrackers.

Two weeks before the Mass, the fiesteros, accompanied by the cabildo, music, and firecrackers, go to take over the pueblo house, with their wives, cooks, chicha-makers, and food distributors.

All the public entertaining will be done in the spacious sala. The church banner will wave in front of the house.

* /252 cont./
756 They are very tractable, friendly, and in our cultural
156 terms we would say that they have a marvelous gift for dealing
157 with people.

[886] When they grow old, they cease to perceive the signs.
[787] They believe that when a curer dies, his death is heralded
by thunder. They live in permanent tension to counter the
[821] attacks of sorcerers. At the slightest symptom, they go to their
[763] kachí to divine and to take the appropriate precautions. They
eat little so as not to sleep at night; they do not suffer from
insomnia. They refrain from sexual relations and from ají
during their treatments.

[737] They attract the entire concern of the community when
epidemics occur. The true curers, those conscious of their
profession, are temperate, engrossed in the fight against sick-
ness, and of a kindly disposition. They inspire trust and do
not show egoism; they readily explain the secrets of their pro-
fession.

* 756 Competition among the Tẽ eu. Some rivalry seems to
● 578 exist among the curers, and the natives even list the zones of
action of the curers. It is certain that a curer will boast of
having overpowered another in the latter's own area of practice.
A curer from Santa Rosa tells how he overpowered a colleague.
755 The informant went to give treatments to a white patient
* 756 at Alto de Atarraya. There he found another curer who was
578 giving remedies that were useless. The patient provided for
them very well, with abundant chicha and aguardiente. The
new arrival drank with care. His colleague had already eaten
the pork, but the patient was following /253/ him. The two
curers prepared to fight. The new curer took his tama and
his coca and at nine at night prepared to divine. His assisting
spirit told him that the other one had given false remedies.
Thus he had to learn the effective remedies. He discovered
that the harm had been done by a native servant girl, along with
some neighbors who did not like him. At once he called in
the cook in order to question her and make sure of what she had

/253 cont./

755 done; she would have to confess, or else he would have her
* 756 arrested. She was wholly to blame. The servant girl took
● 578 fright and replied that perhaps she might be responsible, since at one time she had picked up an echi and put it in an ají bush. And it was this angry echi that was now killing her employer. At once the curer went to the ají bush, removed the echi, and blew fresh remedies at it. He set about divining anew and found out that the rainbow had also put hairs on him. On the following day he removed them. The patient recovered; it was proved that he was a good curer, and demonstrated that the other one did not know anything.

754 The Té eu and the sorcerer. It is said that a sorcerer can
* 756 at the same time be a good curer, but we know perfectly well that the Ghost and Thunder do not give their knowledge to the sorcerers. On the other hand, when a té eu is asked for information about the remedies of sorcerers, they invariably answer that they know nothing about them, for if they were to learn about these remedies they would lose their wisdom.

The curers believe that they are constantly pursued by
75 the sorcerers. Yet, they are able to kill them. A curer from
539 Santa Rosa related his success to us as follows:
774 "When I was a young boy, I was clever and mischievous; I already knew remedies. On one occasion a sorcerer declared his enmity toward me because I was becoming a good curer. I fell ill, and the signs indicated to me my approaching death. In Huila there lived a good curer, and I went there with plenty of coca and aguardiente. He told me that I would die if he did not go to work at once. It was sorcery, and he had to kill the sorcerer. I would have to stay with him for at least a month. 'Let us go to work and dig a hole in order to kill that fellow,' he said to me. He made the first hole, which we used for several nights, for the sorcerer whom we were seeking was very clever. He would call the soul and it would come, but it did not allow itself to be caught; it was very suspicious. The sorcerer was very dangerous, he had killed my mother and my brothers. We went on working. The

5:Bernal Villa--46 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/254 cont./

for it. If a black cloud draws near, he cuts it with the tama. It is the ptans.

The relations between these two men, on whose activities a great part of the security of the group rests, are not cordial; they are relations of latent and permanent aggression. The sorcerers wait for carelessness on the part of the curer. If they catch him asleep, they kill him at once. The sorcerers use pieces of glass to put an end to the wisdom of the Te eu, that is to say, to the signs. They can call sicknesses, combine all the pests, and send them to another parcialidad or to the curer himself so that they will kill.

When a té eu meets a sorcerer, they barely greet each other; at night he takes every precaution.

The curers can accuse a sorcerer before the cabildo, but they are afraid to do so.

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## Chapter II

### Nasa Jihi

The vision that decides a destiny. Just as a té eu needs to see visions in order to decide on his vocation, the sorcerer also decides by means of visions. For example, if in the beak of a bird there is seen a donkey with open mouth into which mosquitoes fly, or simply pigs, the person is fated to become a sorcerer. These visions are personal and usually occur in isolated spots, such as ravines or bogs, where animals cannot come, on any day or at any hour, for this can take place in the daytime or at night.

When a person claims to have seen a donkey, people say that he is going to eat people. It is commonly stated that those who like to walk about at night are more likely to become sorcerers, for they have the opportunity to meet with evil spirits.

/256 cont./

754 Sorceresses are numerous, and it seems that they are the most feared.

[787] Sorcerers receive signs from the devil and the evil spirits who help them appear in the form of snakes, donkeys, or pigs. [825] They are different from the ghost and Rainbow. It is said that the pig teaches the person to be very fierce or inclined to drunkenness (drunks roll about on the floor like pigs in the mud); the donkey, to be a glutton.

In general it seems that every adult is a potential sorcerer, and all the more so those who deviate from the institutionalized norms of behavior.

754 554 578 Victims of sorcery. The victims of sorcery are found everywhere among the people, without any distinction as to sex or age, status or function. The sorcerer himself commonly takes the initiative, but he is also at the disposal of those who want to employ him.

The victims of sorcery frequently are those people who are efficient, hard-working, and frugal, virtues which in our society lead to the development of a capitalist economy.

754 554 153 598 In Santa Rosa they speak of the lamented death of one of their ex-gobernadores. He was young -- they say -- intelligent, a good conversationalist, /257/ and very hard-working. He owned much land and good fields of coffee, yuca, maize, and sugar cane. Jealousy, the source of discord and injustice, motivated the sorcerers Lorenzo Ip and Dolores Oinó, his wife, who joined forces at once with the greatest of the sorceresses, Felisa Ipia, in order to put an end to this man's life. This is the judgment of the curers and the opinion of the community. But the accusation was made by the victim himself, who, in the course of his death agony, which was prolonged, dreamed of the above-mentioned sorcerers. The dying man repeatedly requested that the sorcerers should be sent for, so that he might settle accounts with them. When they left his house to attend to the wish of the dying man, he expired. He died convinced that they had cast a spell upon him.

/257 cont./

754 554 152 598 A curer from Santa Rosa, while taking a spell off a sick person, explained that this man owned much land and that they had cast a spell upon him in order to appropriate it.

In Calderas a man who can read, write, and make memorials for the Alcaldía of Inzá, a maker of fireworks, builder of houses, and good farmer, was naturally the cause of envy. A sorcerer wanted to kill him. He called his soul while he was asleep. But the one called was aided by the soul of his brother, who blew mambe toward him. On the following day his left eye became white and was on the point of dropping out. A curer was able to cure him, but he remained one-eyed. The two brothers remained enemies of the sorcerer.

754 613 623 On another occasion and in the same parcialidad, two brothers gave a sorcerer a beating. In revenge he cast a spell on both within a year. Fearful of punishment, the sorcerer went to other parcialidades, but on his return the cabildo put him in the stocks.

In the old days -- says a curer from Santa Rosa -- the cabildos punished the sorcerers. Those of today are afraid of them. The elders /mayores/ have died bewitched. Actually, the Indians refuse to serve on the cabildo or to accept the post of capitán for fear of the sorcerers.

754 685 The sorcerers are all thieves. They often steal under the very eyes of the owner, who, fearful that they will cast a spell upon him, does not make the slightest protest. But the sorcerers, in turn, fearful that he might complain to the white authorities, cast a spell upon him.

754 In Calderas, those who purchase livestock to expand their small hacienda have been attacked by sorcery.

754 177 554 The Indian who has lived with the whites, who has adopted their clothing, their dietary habits, and their agricultural and cattle-raising techniques, /258/ and who has given up the habit of consuming coca and chicha is not only the victim of magical attacks, but is the direct recipient of offensive words and deeds.

/293 cont./

221 on the fincas of the "whites" (1). The social life and the re-

[166]
[464]
[192]
[197]
[128]

1. Generic term with which the natives designate all those who observe the norms of western culture, without any distinction as to race. For convenience we have adopted this usage, putting the term in quotation marks.

ligious fiestas are frequent during this period. The work is done /294/ with devotion and perseverance. It is not done in haste, but there is no resting either.

423 Every Páez family has its lands. This is its ambition. The [183] primary source of its security. Every crag has an owner whose title has been won by the sweat of his brow. Every crag harbors a rancho that shelters a family. Every inch of land is passionately [578] defended by the native. The disputes stirred up by this fact are not few. In like manner the cabildos are never so zealous as in the defense of the lands of the parcialidad /a territorial division/. [648] The areas of settlement /areas of colonization by whites/ are spearheads in the very heart of the community. They were established against the full opposition of the natives. On the other hand, the defense of the land and the prevention of contamination by foreign peoples are postulates of the doctrine. The distribution of the houses suggests in advance the profusion of paths and private property.

When they win the scarce land, the distances and difficul- [464] ties that loom are not important. They are good colonizers, and it is rare that persons who lack land hire themselves out as permanent peons or become tenant farmers on the great haciendas. [181] They prefer independence above all.

311 To study the economy of the Páez, certain factors of a 133 geographico-physical and cultural nature cannot be overlooked. They are:

1. Thermic levels. The lands now occupied by the Páez of Tierradentro correspond to the thermic levels of cold and temperate. The contour line corresponding to 2,000 meters

Chamones

/327 cont./

223 black birds, are not eaten because they are probably animals of
825 the devil. It is said that in times past the Calderas Indians ate
262 beetles, the reason that they are nicknamed tandayaha (one who
[578] eats beetles), an epithet which they regard as offensive and which nearly always irritates them. The Calderunos say that they do not
[224] eat worms or the meat of rabbits and snakes. They regard as game
[223] animals the guara, deer, coati, armadillo, bat, and various species of birds.

224 Concerning bear hunting, the people of Mosoco relate
/328/ real feats performed by Indians in open fights with the ani-
[237] mals. Bear fat is highly esteemed among the natives and "whites."

226. Fishing is less important than hunting. The rivers and streams contain sardines and coruntas /small river-fish/. During Holy Week and at Christmas they engage in fishing, when the
[462] water is low, by means of barbasco, nets, and hooks. This is strictly a masculine activity. In the Paez River they fish during the months of January and February and generally in months of drought.

They also gather crabs.

Laurel wax industry

398 Laurel, introduced by a man from Popayan /el payanés/,
824 Agustín Valencia, has played an important role in the economy of some parcialidades of Tierradentro. It grows wild in Calderas, Tumbichukue, Lame, San Andrés, Chinas, and Suin. The production of wax was the only industry in these parcialidades that permitted them to maintain regular trade with the "whites."

398 A mestizo trader from Mosoco says that he was a great ex-
43 porter of laurel wax. "It was the native industry" -- he says -- by means of which salt, trousers, shirts, hats, and centavos came in." In this business, he states, he made one arroba of profit per load. The pound was quoted at a peso in Silvia. The informant says that in the years 1946 and 1947 he took out from 800 to 1,000 arrobas of wax. He almost had a monopoly on the business. What little wax escaped him was purchased by traders from Belalcázar, who in turn took it by way of Mosoco to Silvia. The chief consumers of this product were the soap factories of Cali. The laurel wax industry waned in 1950, when those factories

/329 cont./

476 241 The master of the minga kills a head of cattle or, more commonly, a pig. He prepares a trough of chicha (fermented sugar-cane juice), several bottles of aguardiente, an arroba of mote (maize skinned with ashes), and procures a few pounds of coca. He invites the men of his choice. At dawn on the day agreed upon for the job, all those invited, with their tools on their shoulders, proceed with shouts to the house of the minguero. There they are given one egg (25) of coca, chicha, and a dish of

25. Measure of weight equivalent to a hen's egg.

476 461 241 mote with meat. At 8:00 A.M. they are all at work. Up to 30 laborers attend. They take along to the place of the work calabashes of chicha to drink during the rest periods, which correspond exactly to the "botada de la mambeada" /taking the chew of coca/. In the course of the day they have three mambeadas, and thus three rest periods. They more or less coincide with 10:00 A.M., 12:00 noon, and 2:00 P.M. During these rest periods they sit, talk, laugh, drink /330/ chicha, and soon go back to the work enthusiastically. They do it steadily and diligently. 476 241 No one talks then. At 4:00 P.M. they leave work and go to the house of the minguero, where their respective wives are already. Everyone receives chicha and aguardiente. Then the food, consisting of a large wooden platter full of mote, stew /revuelto/ with frijoles, arracacha, plantains, and three pieces of meat. Since they cannot eat all this, they put it in fique knapsacks to [782] take it to their respective homes. After eating, they pray, always invoking the deceased relatives of the minguero, whether [273] they be ancestors, collaterals, or descendants. Then, they re- [535] ceive new gourds of chicha until they are drunk. Very often [578] they dance. There is no lack of fighting on these occasions.

476 435 According to an informant from Calderas, one minga with 15 laborers costs the following:

/336 cont./

423 no rights over land won by the sweat of the brow. It is inherited
623 directly by the sons. In such cases the cabildo confirms owner-
428 ship by issuing the respective adjudication.

423 When the colonization has been done by several persons,
●578 usually brothers, and the division of the land does not satisfy one of the parties, famous litigations take place that eat up the small savings of the families. The feeling for ownership of land is highly developed among the natives, and the usurpation of the slightest piece of ground gives rise to quarrels, enmities, and
42 litigations. The sale of land to "whites" is prohibited by
[648] Colombian law and by the consuetudinary law of the natives. But among the natives themselves transactions can be made with immovables. They do not sell the land, but the ownership. The owner of land is the man. A widow, too, can be an owner by inheritance from the husband. Single women do not own land.

422 The bovine, equine, porcine, and wool-bearing livestock belong to the man, although a few women own pigs and sheep. Turkeys, chickens, cats, and guinea pigs belong to the women, and so do dishes, spoons, pots, grinding stones,
[423] calabashes, and bags. These are inherited through the female line. Children are owners merely of their own clothes.

423 Concerning communal property, we have already seen that in each parcialidad there are several hectares of land that
[794] belong to all the members of the parcialidad. Also regarded as communal property are public works, such as roads, bridges, the main ditches, the house of the cabildo, and the church, and they collectively maintain them; likewise regarded as the property of the parcialidad are the sums of money collected for the church, the produce of the clearing of the saint, and any livestock or mills that it might own.

428 Concerning inheritance, let us look first at the concepts
[842] expressed by an informant from Calderas. Asked about the ideal number of children for native families, he replied that everyone wished to have many children. "When one dies and one has land, who can handle it? The ancestors worked the montaña, and this is why we have land. We are five brothers and we work

/354 cont./

43 onions, cabbages, barley, and eggs, with which it is not possible to maintain regular trading. The Indians, without exception, buy salt and also acquire hats, shirts, trousers, machetes, shovels, bars, axes, knives, aluminum pots, cups, iron plates, spoons, candles, soap, and aguardiente. Less frequently, large and brilliantly colored kerchiefs for the children, and tweezers /pinzas/ and necklaces for the women.

439 San Andrés is a small native settlement which has been
443 inhabited by the "whites" since the settlement area was estab-
438 lished. It contains three stores that sell some merchandise,
[162] some drugs, beer, aguardiente, and bread. Two of them have gramophones. There are also two other stores, which sell chicha and aguardiente exclusively. On Wednesdays a small market is held. In front of one of the houses, peddlers and traders from other areas display their wares; on the small plaza an awning is raised by an acculturated native woman in order to sell food, and a little farther there is a stand where meat is sold. The market starts moving at dawn. The natives bring small amounts of manioc, arracacha, white cabbage, eggs, coffee, and onions, /355/ which are bought immediately by the "whites." Then the butcher starts selling meat, usually in two-pound portions, which are what the natives buy. The peddlers sell a few trinkets and commodities. At 9:00 A.M. the liquor places
[273] begin to move. At ten in the morning the market is over, and
● [578] at midday and in the afternoon only drunken natives are to be
[648] seen. At those times quarrels between them are frequent, and often the natives' aggressiveness is channeled against the "whites," as they assert that they are the true owners of the land and the settlement. The natives have the habit of selling their articles (coffee, eggs) only to persons known to them, even if others can pay them better prices.

On Wednesdays there are also markets in Guasdualejo (Togoima) and Turminá; on Thursdays in Valencia, and on
[491] Saturdays in Inzá and Belalcázar. Those of Belalcázar and Valencia, because they are connected by vehicular road with La Plata (Huila), are better attended and have a larger volume of trade. Large numbers of natives from different parcialidades

7:Hemández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex



civilized tradesman, the Indian turns to drinking guarapo or chicha and becomes drunk. Often a heated discussion, always spoken in Spanish and not in *Páez*, leads to insults and perhaps to blows and injuries. A man's wife usually maneuvers him from the village and, if he falls asleep on the road, she sits by him warding off dangers.

### SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

**Political structure.**—The *Moguex*, *Páez*, *Guanaca*, *Timaná*, and *Yalcón*, despite their great similarity in language and culture, formed separate groups at the time of the Conquest. Each was divided into several communities (parcialidades), of which those of the *Páez* were the most numerous. The *Guanaca* were split between two principal caciques, one of whom, Anabeima, joined the Spaniards against the *Páez* of Avirama. The other cacique was Esmisa, Anabeima's brother-in-law. Each *Páez* community had its own chief, but the communities were grouped into three great divisions. One consisted of the *Páez*, *Tálaga*, *Simurga*, and *Taravira*, on the shores of the Páez River. The chiefs of three of these groups were brothers; that of the fourth was their sister, whose name was Taravira. Another group was headed by Suin, and his son, Esmisa. In the third group, Avirama was joined by other neighboring chiefs of less importance.

Each community (cacicado) consisted of several polygynous families under a male chief (pl. 185, *top, left*). Each family had its own house, located some distance from its neighbor's. All the members of a community gathered for general work, and all or several of the communities united for war, either against the *Pijao*, their feared neighbors, or against the Spaniards.

The place of a cacique's residence was a sort of focal point and meeting place, and today most of such places are Indian villages with the same names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima (formerly Toboima), etc. The present *Páez* Indian reservation of Tierradentro is divided politically into two municipios—Páez or Belalcázar and Inzá—with 22 communities, each governed by its own councils (cabildos, of Colonial origin) and by the municipal authorities. The cabildo is elected annually. The Indians, however, are jealous defenders of their traditions, and insist on a captain and síndico, each with life tenure, to act as their own leaders and as true representatives of the cacique. Their duties are moral and fiscal and carry a certain divine authority, as they are inaugurated in the local church. The cabildo, on the other hand, has only administrative and police powers; it divides the land, orders work to be done, and executes the municipal orders. The members of a cabildo hold office for 1 year and receive no remuneration. They are elected on the first of December by all the male adults, or "macaneros," that is, the Indians who participate in the communal work according to a